1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba



soil of the Exploring Islands is similar to that of Lakemba; Totoya, Moala, and Matuka are the most fruitful of all.

The inhabitants of Lau may best be described as a cross between the negroid Fijian and the Polynesian. Their hair ranges from fuzzy to wavy,

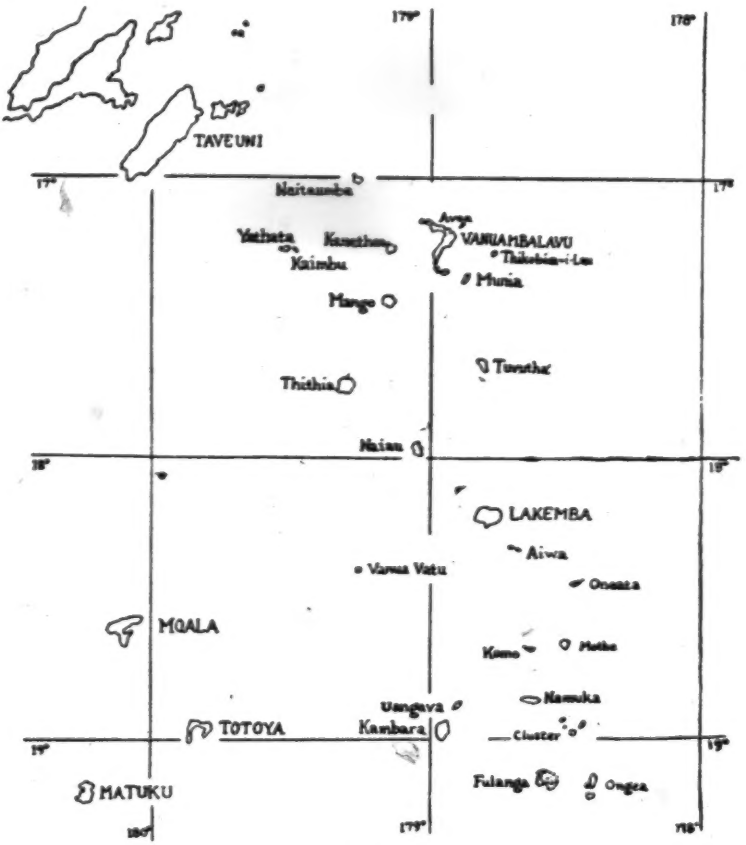


FIGURE 1.—Map of Lau.

or even straight, but curly hair is probably the most common. Many of them have eyes with a slight Mongolian appearance. Their speech is softer and more sing-song than that of people further west. They pronounce *ti* like *chi* and *ndi* as *nji*, and have many words peculiarly their own.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba



pre-Christian. The clans of Nangalingali are: Naivotavota, Tanggu, Nanggora, Matai.

The Naivotavota and Tanggu are noble and descended from two brothers, Tanggu being descended from the eldest; but no one was made Tui Kambara. The ancestor of the two clans came from Uangava (Vuanggava). The third clan is "the Land"; the fourth, which is partly Tongan, is the carpenter's clan, and to it belong the Lemaki (p. 55).

There was much fighting between the villages of Nangalingali and Tokalau for the leadership in Christian times. The present Tui Kambara is of Tokalau.

Nukuloa in Vanua Levu is *tauvu* to Kambara on account of the ancestor-god. Kambara people at one time went to plant in Lakemba. On account of the ladies the people of Kambara used to go to Tanggalevu so in course of time Tanggalevu were made envoys to Kambara. Kambara is also connected with Totoya. There is a strong connection with Tonga because the Tongans formerly built canoes in Kambara.

Komo and Namuka are colonies of Kambara. Komo, a noble land before the inhabitants were killed off by Kambara and Totoya, now has only one village. It was settled from Kambara in fairly recent times. The clans are: Tuvana, Nukusea, Folo, Nasau.

Namuka has only one village, a large one, which was peopled from Nangalingali. Its clans are: Toiovu, Mbautolu, Nawatia, Taliku, Nasau, Nanggalitoka, Sawa. The first Tui Namuka dates from Christian times. Namuka and Matuku are closely related. Namuka goes to Nukunuku in Lakemba.

In Namuka the water is so scarce that in times of drought it is brought from neighboring islands.

## FULANGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Fulanga (Vulanga) is an exceedingly low-born land. Formerly when its people went to Kambara, Mothe, or Lakemba, they walked stooping with folded arms. The island constantly suffers from scarcity. The people are great fishermen and excel with the fish spear. Their hair is said to be fair as a result of their constant diving, but I have seen only one fair haired individual from this island. (See Pl. I, *H*.) Fulanga and Ketei in Totoya are *tauvu*. Ongea, Ono, Mothe, and Oneata are dependencies of Fulanga. Regarding these I have received the following from informants:

Ongea was once a noble (*turanga*) land. Its pennant was hoisted in some peculiar position aloft, whereas Fulanga flew its flag below. The old men of the island used to be known as "the holy elders" (*matua tambu*). When Tui Ongea was on board a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba



canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme:

| | |
|---|---|
| Tui Ongea wiri kata: | The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe; |
| Me kau saka i thama a latha. | Let the sail be carried on the outrigger. |

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji.

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni.

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain.

Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on.

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi.

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono.

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*).

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata. Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha, Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds.

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins.

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson.

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

A B C D

E F G H I

PORTRAITS OF LAUANS: *A-D*, LAKEMBANS: *A*, SIKELI RABORO; *B*, RATU SALESI; *C*, MELAIA LUTU; *D*, TUI TUMBOU; *E*, MBAUAN BOY; *F*, LAKEMBAN BOY; *G*, LAUAN WOMAN; *H*, FAIR-HAIRED BOY FROM PULANGA; *I*, LAUAN BOYS.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6 Lakemba

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau QQ6
Kambara



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## PHYSICAL TYPES AND DRESS

The Lauans are a mixture of Melanesian and Polynesian physical types. As a group they are easily distinguished from the natives of Fiji proper and from the Tongans, but some individuals closely resemble the mountain people of Viti Levu while others look pure Tongan. They are a stalwart, well-proportioned and heavy-boned stock, slightly taller than the natives of Fiji proper. The men are muscular with particularly well-developed legs. The very young women have beautiful, slender bodies with upstanding breasts ranging from the Melanesian pointed type to the Polynesian rounded type. Lauans do not grow fat as they age, but develop a Negroid angularity.

There is great variation in skin color among Lauans, but in general they are lighter than Fijians and darker than Tongans. Skin color is usually correlated with type of facial features—light skin with fine features and dark skin with coarse ones. On Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau, where Tongan influence is strong, and on Moti-e, formerly the point of departure of sailing canoes for Tonga, one notices a strong Polynesian strain —lighter skins, finer features, and wavy hair. But on islands like Fulanga, inhabited mainly by the descendants of the early inhabitants of Lau, dark skins, coarse features, and frizzly hair predominate.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



Apparently a partial albino strain runs through the people of the southern islands, especially on Fulanga and Ongea. In some families the hair, and often also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored.

The coarse black hair of the Lauans ranges from the frizzly Negroid type to the wavy Polynesian type. Hair is considered important and is groomed by both sexes. Many individuals, especially young people, dye their hair with red bark to give it a coppery cast. The dye is prepared from the bark of the *vetau* tree (*Ochrocarpus excelsus*) as follows:

> Strips of bark about 2 cm. thick are cut into pieces about 6 cm. square which are beaten with a stone hammer on a stone slab, and then soaked in water in a wooden bowl. Next they are rubbed over a grater (made of a piece of tin punctured with holes) into a wooden bowl. The red pulp is squeezed out by hand, leaving clear, brick-colored liquid dye, which is left on the hair for several hours. After the dye has been washed off, lime is applied.

Lime is prepared and used to cleanse the hair as follows:

> After women dive for coral on the reef, either men or women bake it in a wood fire for about a day. It is removed from the fire by means of prongs made of a coconut midrib; covered with *ezuezu (Hernandia ovigera)*, banana, or breadfruit leaves, and placed in a coconut-leaf basket. The opening of the basket is lashed up and the basket buried in the ground for three or four nights. Then the lime is mixed with water, applied to the hair and left for a day, after which it is washed out in the lagoon. The treatment destroys lice, bleaches the hair slightly, and causes it to stand out from the head. Women who are careful about their appearance apply lime to the hair about every three weeks, men usually apply it less frequently.

In order to blacken the hair, according to informants, women cut the flower of the banana into slices about 3 cm. thick and rub it over hair which has been reddened by dye. *Wangiri* and *oki* are used for the same purpose.

Gray hair is common among old people but few bald-headed (*ndriki*) persons are seen.

"Strong" hair that stands out from the scalp is admired, and to produce this effect a wooden comb (*seru*) is used. Informants say that this comb is modern and that they formerly used a comb (called *serusasa*) composed of the midribs of coconut leaflets (*sasa*) tied to a wooden handle with sennit. After the hair has been combed to stand out, it is shortened and shaped to the desired length by means of a burning brand, frequently of *thimbithimbi* (*Cynometra grandiflora*) bark. Most adults wear their hair from 6-10 cm. long. Formerly men wore their hair a few centimeters longer. Since the wearing of most head ornaments is a chiefly prerogative, hair ornaments are rare except in the dance or when sprigs of flowers are worn casually about the village.

The cleaning of one another's heads is a friendly pastime among the women. One woman sits in front of and facing another, who hunts through her lowered head, eating or killing the prey. Formerly a head scratcher (*i*

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



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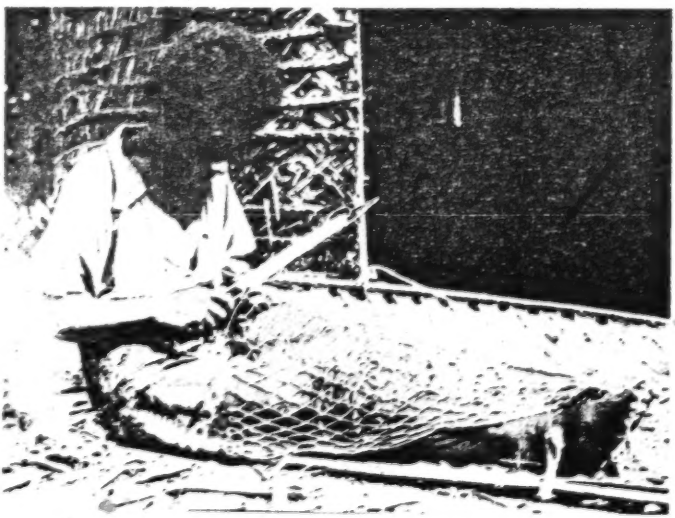
A



B

A, UNMARRIED GIRL OF MUANAITHAKE VILLAGE, FULANGA, WEARING "VIRGIN LOCKS" OVER LEFT EAR. B, WOMAN OF NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA, MAKING A FISHNET.

[End Plate 3]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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A Young Man From Fulanga

[Facing p. iii]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



266 When one considers the limited food resources of these
727 islands in the past, it seems small wonder that cannibalism was common. The motive behind most of the cannibalism in Lau, however, seems to have been revenge. After a successful raid the bodies of captured enemies were trussed like pigs and steamed in large earth ovens used especially for this pur-
[578] pose. The bodies were called *mbaḳola,* a term still used to inflict the most deadly of insults. They were presented with other food to the war god at the temple and later consumed by men, women and children as part of the victory feast. Informants say that there is no act more humiliating to the relatives of a fallen enemy than the consumption of his flesh by the victors.

241 The food resources of the famine isles have been increased
177 considerably with the introduction of food plants in recent times. Tapioca and sweet potato have supplemented jungle roots, nuts, leaves and fruit as staples on Kambara, and within the memory of aged informants the people have changed from warlike food collectors to peaceful gardeners.

## 539 BUSHY-HAIRED BROWN NATIVES

"The guardians of the mountains sing on,
The calves of their legs are like shaddocks,
Their red turbans are the color of blood,
Like the fruit of the *vutore* tree floating down a river."

*From a Fijian song.*[3]

● 142 THE most striking physical feature of the Lauans, as of other
302 Fijians, is their black frizzly hair which stands up on end six or eight inches from the scalp. In the past, young warriors proudly nurtured their "big heads" which stood out almost a foot. The hair is a very important part of one's physical appearance in Lau, and more time is devoted to it than to any other part of the body. Coarse, stiff, well groomed hair

[3] Basil Thompson, *The Fijians,* London, 1908, p. 130.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



is the ideal, and to avoid disarranging their hair many Fijians sleep with a wooden headrest or other support under their necks like the Japanese.

These "big heads" are difficult to keep clean. While the Lauan women gossip in the kitchen huts there is always at least one engaged in casually hunting down and consuming the prey from the woolly hair of a relative. For a thorough cleansing, lime prepared by baking reef coral in an earth oven is rubbed into the hair while it is wet. This is left on for a day and then rinsed out in the lagoon. One frequently sees men, women, and children, their heads caked with white lime, going about their work or play in the village. Lime stiffens and slightly bleaches the hair. Moreover the hair of many individuals is bleached by the sun. A few pure blooded Lauans have naturally blond hair which is easily mistaken for hair bleached by lime or sunshine. In certain families, especially on Fulanga, the hair and frequently also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored. One can prove that this coloring is natural by the blond haired babies which are common in these families. Blondness among the Lauans is probably due to a hereditary strain of partial albinism.

Many individuals of both sexes, especially young people, dye their hair, after liming it, with the red bark of a tree (*Oehrocarpus excelsus*). This gives it a becoming coppery cast which is much admired. The red barked tree grows only in a few spots on Kambara. Once when we had chased a turtle the length of the island the girls pointed to a coconut grove ashore and asked the men to get them some drinking nuts. As soon as the canoes were beached the girls disappeared and after some time they returned, laden with strips of bark. The next day all the girls in the village had red hair.

A strong wooden comb with several well-spaced teeth is used for the painful process of combing the thick, frizzly hair away from the scalp. Kambarans go through this ordeal

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



302 at least once a week, on Saturdays or Sundays before church. To conform with the Fijian mode the whole head of hair is shaped box-hedge fashion by singeing the upstanding ends with a burning brand. Imported scissors are used when available. Formerly men wore their hair longer than women, but in recent years many men have adopted a short, modified European coiffure, while most women have retained the old
764 mode. When a relative or a high chief dies, however, both men and women cut their hair close to the scalp and wear old mats around the waist. Hence most old people have
[142] closely cropped hair. Grey hair is common among old people, but few bald headed persons are seen.

302 As a sign of virginity, which is highly prized at marriage
585 in Lau, little girls of about ten years begin to twist a lock
177 of hair over one ear into twenty or more tiny two-ply strands. These "virgin locks" are allowed to grow and frequently they reach the shoulder. The rest of the hair is singed in the usual manner. Unless the girl becomes pregnant they are not cut until after the wedding night when a special feast is held. Some girls have broken away from the custom of wearing "virgin locks" and the most daring try to achieve a western bob by parting the hair in the middle and shingling it. The effect is lost, however, because the hair is so bushy that the part quickly disappears.

142 Although frizzly hair is the rule, many Lauans have wavy
144 hair due to Polynesian admixture. When cut according to the
302 Fijian mode, wavy hair becomes a problem for it will not stand on end. Untidy strands stick out in all directions or hang limp in defiance of all efforts to stiffen them. The unfortunate possessors of such hair, however, never give up their efforts to conform to the prevailing style.

142 The Lauans are a brown skinned people. In general they are lighter than the Fijians and darker than the Tongans but they vary in skin color from dark brown which is almost black to light café-au-lait. Light skins, like those of the

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



Tongans, especially among the women, are greatly admired. Light skins, like those of the The white skins of Europeans, however, are considered ugly.

The Lauans are a well-proportioned, stalwart and heavy-boned type, slightly above the average height. Almost without exception the young people have beautiful bodies. In general the men are muscular, with well-developed straight legs of which they are extremely proud. The young girls are stream-lined and graceful with slender hips and upstanding breasts. They mature rapidly, and usually by the age of eighteen have the well developed forms which are particularly admired by the men. Thereafter with the strain of child-bearing they age quickly. Old people are usually lean and angular.

As may be expected because of the intermediate geographic position of the Lau islands between Melanesian Fiji and Polynesian Tonga, the physical type here described represents a mixture of the racial stock of these two areas.[4] As a group the Lauans are easily distinguished from the Melanesian natives of Fiji proper and also from the Polynesian Tongans, but there are individuals among them who closely resemble the mountain people of the interior of Viti Levu where the most Negroid types of Fijians are found, and others who look pure Tongan. The Fijian types are found among the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of Lau, especially on Fulanga, and the Tongan types in Tongan centers like Lakemba, the home of the high chief of Lau.

The Lauans speak a dialect of the Fijian language which belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian stock, found throughout

[4] The terms Melanesia and Polynesia are used in this work primarily to denote culture areas. Melanesia extends from New Guinea to Fiji, and is bounded on the south by Australia and on the north by the Carolines, the Gilberts and the Ellice islands. On the east lies Polynesia which forms a triangle including New Zealand, Hawaii and Easter island. The two areas differ in native culture, race and language. Melanesian culture is less organized than Polynesian, and the natives are Negroid in type with blackish skins, frizzly hair and coarse features, in contrast to the brown skins, wavy hair and finer features of the Polynesians. The languages of the two areas differ in grammar and vocabulary.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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A FIJIAN FISHERGIRL

She wears a bright red *lavalava* and in her hair a sprig of fragrant leaves. Around her neck, tangled in a garland of tiny flowers, hangs a pair of imported diving goggles.

[FACING p. 14]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



stream of immigrants into Polynesia must have settled in eastern Fiji. 174

The islands of the Pacific may be divided into two groups: those of continental formation lying within the boundaries of the great submarine shelf which extends from Asia eastward as far as Fiji and New Zealand, and those of insular formation west of this boundary. The Lau islands extend north and south along the eastern edge of the shelf. The culture areas of Melanesia, Micronesia,[8] and Indonesia[9] lie east of this line, while that of Polynesia lies to the west. The island groups to the west, that is those on the submarine shelf, are relatively numerous and compact. To the east, however, island groups are less frequent and the distances are greater between them. This fact has been of utmost importance in the peopling of Oceania, for whereas the voyage as far as Fiji can be made almost continuously in sight of land, beyond Fiji great expanses of open sea, frequently over two thousand miles across, stretch between the Polynesian islands. Only the ablest and most daring navigators could sail these seas by canoe. 133 [101]

The aboriginal inhabitants of Lau were a dark, coarse featured, Melanesian type called the "land people" (*kai vanua*). We do not know how early they settled in Lau. They probably comprised the easternmost expansion of the aboriginal inhabitants of Fiji, who survive today in the mountains of Viti Levu. The "land people" were fishermen and collectors of roots, fruit, and leaves in the jungle. Probably they also cultivated gardens on the fertile volcanic islands, but were prevented from gardening to any extent on the limestone islands because they lacked food plants which would grow well in the shallow soil. They had a simple 174 [142]

[8] The term Micronesia is used in this study primarily to denote the Oceanic culture area north of Melanesia. It includes the Marshalls and Gilberts, the Carolines and the Mariannas.

[9] The term Indonesia is used in this study primarily to denote the Oceanic culture area between Melanesia and the eastern Asiatic mainland. It includes the Malay archipelago.

[Text continues on page 21.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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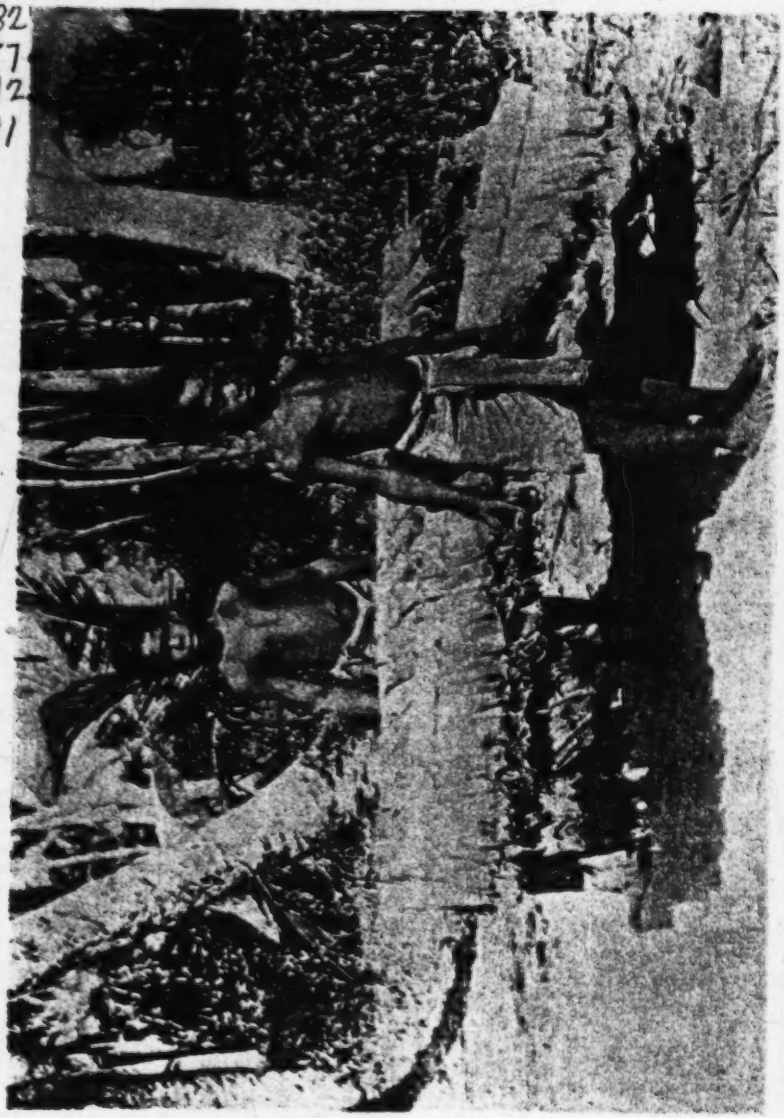

BOYS AT WORK

Two piles are carrying lengths of pandanus thatch ready to be lashed to the roof framework of a house.

[FACING p. 44]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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A Lau Islander.

[frontispiece]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6



174 is supported by many small hints. And if from Malaya why not from farther west still—from the peoples of western Asia, the "cradle of the human race"?

●142 The Polynesian has a distinctly "Eastern" face, high cheek bones, and slightly slanting eyes; and his manners and customs are very much 157 of "the east." He is clever, but childlike; easily stirred to passion, yet dreamy; full of vanity and arrogant pride, yet of very courtly and charming manners; careless of his own life, yet callous to the sufferings of others. Certain little actions of his continually crop up that, like the flashing of a camera shutter, give you a momentary glimpse of some mysterious past, of some ancestry which is surely "Eastern."

201 A Lau islander—who is mostly a Polynesian 171 (and even a Fijian, who is, as I have mentioned above, half a Polynesian)—beckons to you, not as a European would with an upward crooked finger or hand, but exactly as the Malayans do, with a downward sweep of the hand, as it were "hooking" you towards him. Again, a Lau islander makes a sign of assent by tilting up his chin, exactly as the people of Malay do. And a Lau islander claps his hands softly once or twice as a mark of respect for a chief, and as [576] far north as old Japan the same sign was used; while the wooden head-rest and the reed houses